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AUTHOR	Woods, Richard G.; Harkins, Arthur M.
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ABSTRACT

With a view toward stimulating remedial Federal Government and local community action, the National Council on Indian Opportunity held hearings on problems of urban American Indians during 1968 and 1969 in 5 major cities. This report organizes the interracial aspects of urban Indian concerns evidenced during the hearings. Much is included in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. Indian-White relationships, Indian-Black relationships, legal and social services, employment difficulties, and poverty programs are among the areas of concern discussed in the document. (JH)

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY

PART II: INTERRACIAL ASPECTS

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by

Richard G. Woods
Arthur M. Harkins

Training Center for Community Programs
in coordination with
Office of Community Programs
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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Introduction

This report deals with the public testimony delivered before the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968-1969 visits to five major cities -- Los Angeles, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and Phoenix. These visits were for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulating remedial federal government and local community action.

The NCIO came into being in March, 1968 by Presidential Executive Order Number 11399. Chaired by the Vice-President of the United States, its cabinet members were designated as the Secretaries of Interior; Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The six appointed Indian members of the Council were:

Wendell Chino, Mescalero Apache, President of the National Congress of American Indians

La Donna Harris, Comanche, Organization Official, Housewife, Chairman Urban (Off-Reservation) Indians

William Hensley, Alaska Native, Representative of Alaska State Legislature

Roger Jourdain, Chippewa, Chairman of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians

Raymond Nakai, Navajo, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council

Cato Valandra, Sioux, Chairman of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council

The NCIO appointed Mrs. La Donna Harris to chair an inquiry into the conditions of life for urban Indians. In each metropolitan area selected, resident Indians and representatives of government or social agencies that deal with Indians were invited to attend and discuss problems in the areas of education, housing, employment, recreation, social services and justice.

The sequence of the hearings was as follows:

Los Angeles, California	December 16-17, 1968
Dallas, Texas	February 13-14, 1969
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota	March 18-19, 1969
San Francisco, California	April 11-12, 1969
Phoenix, Arizona	April 17-18, 1969

The five volumes which contain the testimony presented in the hearings provided no indication of the rationale for selecting these particular cities. Los Angeles, of course, contains the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States, and may have been selected for that reason. The smaller (and apparently more widely dispersed) Indian population of San Francisco provides some contrast, but it seems curious that other cities, such as Chicago (with its variety of woodlands Indians), Baltimore (with its Lumbees) or New York City (with its Mohawks) were ignored in favor of another California city and in favor of two southwestern choices - Dallas and Phoenix. Of course, the heavy concentration of <u>total</u> (rural and urban Indian population in the Southwestern and Western states may have occasioned pressures to make the selections which occurred. The volumes also do not make clear the rationale for selecting the Indian and non-Indian representatives of the five cities to appear before the Committee. There is some indication from the testimony that, as one might expect, the more prominent and articulate Indian people tended to be represented rather than those who may have been more typical of urban Indians as a whole. Also, the attendance at the hearings of social service agency and city government representatives, in general, was poor.

This report will organize the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with interracial aspects. The attempt has been to deliberately include much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. This meant that inevitable decisions had to be made about the selection of materials which resulted in the omission of much of the direct testimony in the five large volumes of the hearings. Of course, transcripts of hearings can be faulted because they lack such subtleties

as voice inflection, audience-witness interaction, and points of verbal emphasis during prolonged testimony. In addition, there were off-the-record discussions in Phoenix which conceivably could have contained more important material than that which was recorded.

It should be noted (as a matter of fact and not apology) that the two authors of this report are non-Indian.

City life as contrasted with the reservation culture inevitably brings accelerated and more complex contact with non-Indians. The establishment and preservation of an Indian enclave within the city which is as insulated from outsiders as many reservations is next to impossible to achieve. School personnel, social workers, policemen, and neighbors from different ethnic backgrounds, who serve in some ways as competitors, are among those who are present in abundance in most large cities where Indians have come to live.

A Minority Among Minorities

Indians sometimes see themselves as disadvantaged and powerless not only with respect to the large majority of white people, but also in relation to other ethnic and minority groups within the city. In San Francisco, one Indian person appraised the situation in this language:

> San Francisco is very different. It's probably the same in other areas, but San Francisco is divided up into five target areas which the Economic Opportunity Council is concerned with. That's Hunter's Point, which is 90% black; Chinatown, which is 75% Chinese. Then you have your Western Addition, another 90% black, and you have your Central City, which is all ethnic groups, minority, white. And then you have your Mission. Now, your Mission is, say 50% Spanish and other minority groups. So then, when you get into San Francisco, the Indian tends to be a minority amongst the minorities, so any of the poverty programs, he gets the last, the very, very last.
>
> So, say, in the Mission, you have around, I think, thirty Head Start classes in all of the San Francisco area. Each of these classes are in these five different target areas, and your boards which control these target areas, are mainly whatever minority group -- well, that control it. Your Indian has very little political pull in these poverty programs.[1]

Quite similar testimony emerged in Dallas:

> In some discussion prior to entering the room, we spoke about Indian problems within the poverty areas of Dallas. It's a fact we know approximately where the Indians are in Dallas

> because of a survey we ran last year. It began December 1967 and ended the latter part of January or first part of February 1968. They're primarily located in far West Dallas, East Dallas and the section in Oak Cliff. With reference to the Indian population, I find in going to neighborhood council meetings, I can't remember any council meeting where I observed a person of the Indian origin present. Now, needless to say, the whole structure of the war on poverty depends upon the needs, the requests and sometimes, unfortunately, protests of the people. Now, the voice of the people, as far as their needs, requests, and priorities, are heard through neighborhood council meetings.[2]

A representative of the League of Women Voters in Dallas elaborated:

> ...Indians seem largely invisible in Dallas...Many people I encounter...are quite surprised that there is a substantial number of Indians in Dallas. Also, the confusion which I think Joe Carmouche mentioned, people not knowing the difference between Mexican-American, with which they are more familiar, and the Indian. I have even inquired at the school offices where I know Indian children attend and have been told "we have no Indian children, only Latin Americans." Indians are not only not seen by the larger community, but as has been indicated, they have not been heard. The Negro and the Mexican-American have had their spokesmen. The Indian in Dallas has had little attention given to his problems.[3]

And in Minneapolis an Indian woman staff member of Pilot City Regional Center, an anti-poverty agency on the North Side, described the impotence of Indians in relation to anti-poverty programs:

> I am trying to do everything humanly possible to try to meet the needs of the Indian people, whatever they may be. I truly believe there could have been more funds provided to the Northside Indian Center. I have said this to the Board of Directors, but again, Indian people are always last.[4]

In Los Angeles, Chairman Harris explained:

> One of the real reasons for holding these hearings on urban Indians is because half of the Indian population in the United States now lives in urban centers, and they do not have a voice and are just left out. Other ethnic groups

> are moving ahead, and they are not. They are not able to catch hold of anything because of their lack of organization.[5]

Difficulties with involving Indians in anti-poverty efforts were noted by a social service consultant to the State Department of Social Welfare in California during the Los Angeles hearings:

> As you know, Indians in California have full citizenship and have the right to full participation in all of our social services or other programs. All programs for the poor in California, Indians may participate in. This is not to say they do, but they may. Our experience has been that Indians tend not to participate in the programs that are so often available -- preferring Indian programs. I am not offering this as a criticism, simply as a fact.[6]

One description of the position Indians hold with respect to the larger society appeared in Los Angeles, and is worth repeating here:

> There are fewer cultural differences and barriers in this state than in other Indian populated areas of the United States. It is often difficult to recognize a person as a California Indian. They speak and write English and wear the same type of clothes. Since many of the reservations are small and unproductive, many of the Indians work off of the reservation. This involves them in the non-Indian community. They are further drawn into the non-Indian community since all California Indian children attend public schools. Their culture is largely Spanish, their way of life is not so much Indian as it is poverty. The main "cultural" differences are due to the fact that the Indians are a conquered people, have been forced to live under adverse conditions on the reservation, and are not respected by the non-Indian populace.[7]

A San Francisco Indian witness chided Chairman Harris for urging Indian utilization of organizations structured to help poor and minority persons:

> You have constantly brought up the Civil Rights Commission, the FEPC and the EOC. These people aren't effective. One of the reasons why they are not effective is because we don't have any Indians on them.[8]

A tendency of many Indian people not to publicly proclaim their grievances was noted by a representative of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing who testified in San Francisco:

> ...Statistically, we made an analysis of the number of housing complaints during the work of the Commission. We found black people complained more than any other people, that Mexican-American people complained considerably less. The American Indian almost not at all.
>
> However, we did find there was considerable discrimination against all minority groups, but the reason the blacks complained more, is because since, say, 1946 or 1947, they have been getting a little more of the economic pie than the other minority groups. This means they have the economic resources to want to move out, whereas it wouldn't make much sense for large numbers of Mexican American and American Indian people to complain. You have to complain about a specific house you have been discriminated against in, and that means you have to have the wherewithal to pay for it. The economic base is the obvious reason for the difference, but the discrimination, of course, is very subtle.[9]

There was some indication that Indian representatives did not feel that programs designed for non-Indians as well as Indians were appropriate. A proposal for the training of indigenous researchers among the American Indian migrants into an urban area, submitted for the record in San Francisco noted:

> Needless to say, the programs designed for Negroes, Mexican-Americans or Oriental Americans are not suitable for American Indians because of great cultural differences.[10]

The remedy for Indian difficulties in a mostly non-Indian society, according to young Indian militants appaaring in Los Angeles, was self-determination and the development of a positive self-image:

> We have found, when we are talking about self-determination and assimilation, if a person has developed a pride, if the people themselves have nationalism, they will assimilate themselves. It will not be necessary for the white dominant populace to do this.

> What we are advocating is Red Power, and we are not doing it statistically, or militantly, but realistically. It has to come about.
>
> Many programs have been suggested about things that could improve the American Indian's plight. It has not been specifically said who is going to run these programs. It should be brought out that it would be better if the Indian runs them.[11]

Evidence of Indian dissatisfaction about powerlessness in the urban setting comes from a Minneapolis militant:

> I don't say they should beg any more. I say Indian people should get out and demand. They should say their representation on the Minneapolis Human Rights Commission is inadequate. The representation they have in the Minneapolis Civil Rights Department is inadequate. They are inadequately represented on the Urban Affairs Commission. Other Minneapolis coalitions, the Catholic and Lutheran Arch-Dioceses, are gearing their attention toward minority problems. I have made a move already to have those Indian people taken off the Urban Coalition who are just window dressing. There are four or five Indian people who have their names on the list and do not turn out for meetings. We have to take the same avenues in our Indian way that the black community has taken. We have to get together and go to these meetings. We have to show force. We have to show we are not going to back down. We have to show this to the Office of Economic Opportunity.[12]

And, an Indian man in Los Angeles said:

> I don't believe...treating an Indian on a cradle-to-grave basis is the answer. We are going to have to get out and hustle, fight and compete just like our fellow man.[13]

Thus, witnesses indicated that Indians tend not to participate vigorously in programs designed for all disadvantaged persons for a number of reasons. They often feel out-numbered and over-powered in multi-ethnic committee or board control situations. Grievance machinery established for all citizens may not be used by Indians. While some persons complain that Indians are not adequately represented on public bodies and anti-poverty boards, others indicate that multi-ethnic programs are not appropriate; they

argue for all Indian programs, justified on the bases that "cultural differences" demand them and that the drives for nationalism and self-determination require them. Undoubtedly, much of the pressuring for Indian-oriented programs stems from the perceived need for the protection from "outside" influences -- including competition -- which an Indian environment could provide.

The Influence of History

But contact with non-Indians continues with persistence in the city. For many Indians these contacts prompt a reawakening of feelings of historic injustice and traditional reservation Indian-white relationships.

In Los Angeles, a representative of the American Indian Association gave his perception of the contemporary Indian image in terms of the influences of history:

> I believe a certain image has been imposed on the Indian people for years in the past. I believe this image is outdated. But I believe it was for a definite purpose. The image was made when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was under the War Department, it was probably a war tactic to put the Indian in submission. It was probably geared so that the settlers could come and take their land. It was probably geared so that the cavalry could come in and kill off the Indians. It was probably geared to inspire the different church organizations -- I'm a Catholic myself, and a very strong Catholic -- but I believe that it was probably geared to inspire the different church missionaries to come in and impose upon the Indians a middle class white culture or white religion.[14]

In Minneapolis, an Indian member of the Urban Coalition complained:

> Somehow, Western man has the ability to push off the Indian as an insignificant problem.[15]

In San Francisco, an Indian witness thought language differences had let to legal injustice for Indians:

This is the thing people do not understand about the Indian. He has this lack of communication. All of you who are Indian know what your languages are like. I am a Winnebago Indian. The Winnebago language is very limited in its vocabulary. In other words, we have only one word for "white", and we have no "is" or "was" in our language. We have no way of changing time. If we say "forever" in the Indian language, it means forever.

The white man's language can be construed in any way that he wants it. He can utilize this language in any way and form. One thing can mean one thing today, and in twenty years from now, these words can be changed to the direct opposite of what they were, when they were made. This has been proven. Look at your law books. You've got all the written proofs you need. These words have been changed, and rewritten, so that everything changes.

> What I am leading up to is the Indian treaties. Every Indian group I've ever talked to, has always looked to the Indian treaties. This is a wrong statement -- "Indian treaties." In many instances, the Indian thought he was signing a treaty of friendship with the white man, when in truth, the only thing he signed was an unconditional surrender of all his lands and properties. This is what the Indians did. This is the reason why these treaties are no good to the Indian. They are not Indian treaties. This is the reason why we need to have our existing laws changed to benefit the Indian.[16]

An Indian man in Dallas indicated that the usual white tactic of "divide and conquer" was being continued in contemporary times:

> The BIA keeps all the Indians in separate places, say, the Five Civilized Tribes, the Plains Indians, and the Indians on reservations. If you get down and talk to these Indians, they're all the same. If you're on the white man's side, he isn't Indian, I don't care where he comes from, even if he comes from India, he isn't Indian. They put you on the same level, you know, which all Indians should be. They should all be grouped together, but the white man keeps them separated so they won't be very strong. That's what we need to do, get together, and they'll all think alike.[17]

The same witness saw a conspiracy in the home loan program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

> It is so hard for an Indian to get a loan to buy a home. A lot of these Indians don't really have good-paying jobs to qualify for these loans and the BIA doesn't help you one bit. I've tried it from here, I think, almost to Washington. All I get is you're qualified for this, and you're qualified for that, which I knew...Like the grants they have on these Indian loans, I know some of the people that work for the BIA need the job, too. That's how they get their jobs, by giving some Indian a loan they know will not keep a job or not make the house payments on these loans. They'll give them a loan, and in a few months these people have moved out and gone again. Then they turn it in, that the Indian isn't up to standard. That takes it away for all Indians. That's the white man's way of thinking, all Indians are down. There are some good Indians.[18]

In Los Angeles, one witness felt that the effects of historic maltreatment of Indians were so devastating that only the development of Indian nationalism could restore Indian people:

> We strongly feel there is a need for nationalism within the Indian groups, and the National Council should realize this, and work from this philosophy. When we talk about restoring Indian culture, Indian dances, this is nationalism. This means self-determination of a people. If we are talking about justice, we really think this has been overlooked as far as the United States and Indian affairs.
>
> What has occurred in the United States and California, is the result of conquerors versus conquered people. You have the result of a social-psychological effect, which you are calling negative attitude or the self-negative image the Indian has about himself. The first step to change the self-image, is to change the culture, to develop their pride.
>
> So far, the expressed purpose of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been to assimilate Indians. However, it has been to assimilate Indians into a white culture and, you know, you just don't do this. If you are going to instill a pride in the American Indian, the American Indian has to determine his own destiny.[19]

Contemporary Indian-White Relationships

There were numerous references to difficulties Indians have with "communications." Sometimes these comments seemed to refer to language difficulties, but at other times they were apparently indicative of a general cultural impasse.

"The Indian Will Talk Only to His Kind"

In San Francisco, an Indian man explained it this way:

> I'm able to speak to some extent to the white man, but this is lacking with most of the Indian people. I was raised on a reservation. I went to Indian schools. I was fortunate enough to go through high school, but the thing that has hamstrung the Indian so much, is the fact that he has only contact with other Indians until he gets out of school. Then he has to go out and compete with the white man for a white man's job. He hasn't got the ability to go out to make an application to effectively express himself about what he would like to do.[20]

In Dallas, a witness affirmed:

> It's true the Indian will talk only to his kind.[21]

Another witness, an Indian woman who operated a boarding house for Indian men undergoing vocational training, said this:

> I never mixed the boys, because they don't mix so well. Sometimes they do, but Indians talks Indian language, whites talk white language, so it's better to have the Indians. They like it better, and whatever they like, that's what they get at my house.[22]

Again, in Dallas, an Indian witness put it this way:

> The Indian guy that comes here doesn't know how to communicate with whoever he's dealing with too good. But they don't know that, see. That's what was wrong with me, when I first come out. I flunked English in college. I still can't speak too good.[23]

An Indian witness in Phoenix recalled:

> I was told to respect your elders. When there was an elder in the room, don't talk. I found that is the best time to talk. But at the time I was told that every time a grown-up person or an elderly person came in, that this was the time for you to be quiet and sit and listen. Well, I found this to be the biggest handicap that I have ever had. In fact, I couldn't even speak up until I finally took the Dale Carnegie course, which is another good thing, because that is part of helping you to speak and express yourself and to think ahead of yourself.[24]

Another Phoenix witness, a Navaho man, agreed:

> ...I would like to communicate with you. I think this is what we need to do -- that a great deal of the problems of Indian people are due to a lack of communication. I find this in my job at the State Employment Service. As I talk to the people, I just have them come out and list what their problems are. A lot of times we spend more time than we are allowed to spend with one person, but then it helps me so it helps the individual also.[25]

"Only an Indian Can Relate to an Indian"

A number of witnesses indicated that Indian people preferred the company of other Indians, and were reluctant to associate extensively with non-Indians.

A Minneapolis Indian woman, who was a staff member of an anti-poverty agency noted:

> ...it takes an Indian to relate to another Indian.[26]

In Phoenix, an Indian college student said:

> There seems to be something that prompts one to go looking for other Indians.[27]

Also in Phoenix, an Indian woman pointed out:

> In my church we have some Indian students. They do have this thing of wanting to be with just the Indians. They do not want to mingle so much. But I feel it is because they feel more at home with their own people.[28]

An Indian man in Dallas spoke of his uncertainty when around whites:

> Among Indian people I feel pretty confident in myself. Among the white-eyes, I'm a little bit unsure of myself. That's the way I feel, and whether I'll ever get over it, I don't know.[29]

A Maricopa man in Phoenix illustrated the difficulty of intercultural communication:

> One Indian can talk to another and, in less than 30 minutes, can understand his individual problems, which would probably require three or four years of psychologists working on the same individual, asking him to come back time and again. This is the advantage that experienced people have.[30]

A Dallas Indian lady said:

> Another Indian can reach the Indian people.[31]

But a San Francisco witness, recounting his experiences at the University of Arizona, indicated that simply being an Indian may not be enough:

> ...We had students from 16 or 15 of the Southwestern tribes. The tribes are so distinct in their cultural background -- to say another Indian, it doesn't mean that he's a friend, or at least not as easily a friend as someone from the same tribe.[32]

One witness explained why Indians should teach other Indians:

> I feel that the best approach would be to have a project where we could have Indians instructing Indians. One such project was carried out with great success at the Yaqui community of Guadalupe, just outside of Phoenix, where we developed the material for proper vocational orientation at the Arizona State Employment Service, and turned it over to instructors taken from among the Yaqui community.

> We finally believe that the person indigenous to the population with which he works can be much more successful than a person who may have all the book learning in the world, but does not know how to communicate with the Indian people.[33]

Chairman Harris was unable to attend the Phoenix hearings because of family illness, and a committee staff member, a white man, took her place. An Assiniboine from Montana commented:

> With no malice whatsoever toward Mr. Hargis and so forth, but our Great White Father still sends the white man to understand Indian problems. I don't say this is wrong, and I don't say this is right, but I know a lot of Indian people would rather speak their hearts out to an Indian because an Indian would understand. Because of this I will not try to direct my comments toward the committee as a committee itself that Mr. Hargis represents, but to you people as individuals.[34]

"It's a White Problem"

From what they said some Indian people who appeared before the Committee seemed to place the major responsibility for improvement of Indian-white relationships upon white people. Often it seemed that, in their view, there was little that Indian people could do to bring about improvement, with the possible exception of "educating" whites.

In Los Angeles, Committee member Jourdain commented:

> We have always stated it was not the Indian problem, it's the white man's problem, he was the man that brought in and delegated the authority to Congress to put us in this position that we are in today.[35]

A San Francisco witness was concerned about white indifference:

> There is frustration over the inadequacy of institutions who either want to help or are helping in improving their conditions. I think that the people in Washington should be aware of the frustrations that people are feeling about the inadequacy of institutions to meet their needs. There has been a tremendous indictment during the course of these

> discussions of the white community. This is continued and amplified in other areas as well, and what I have found in other areas is not so much that they are really prejudiced, or really don't know. It's simply that -- I don't know if you can call it human nature or what -- people don't care. They're unconcerned about the state of the American Indian...

At another point in San Francisco, Chairman Harris summed it up this way:

> The point is...it is not an Indian problem. It is a community problem, that is our whole problem. It is not an Indian problem. When we're saying this, we've got a great deal of educating to do with the non-Indian public.[37]

An Indian militant in Minneapolis concurred:

> Too many times we all say there's an Indian problem. I know who the problem is, and it isn't the Indian people. It's the white establishment. The white system is going to have to change, no matter how drastic it is.[38]

In Dallas, an Indian woman observed:

> They don't like us, none of the whites on Peak and Bryan.[39]

The same witness gave a pessimistic appraisal of the future of Indian-white relationships:

> They [Indians] don't trust the white man, don't ever kid yourself, the Indians will never trust a white man. You've got to prove yourself to me before I trust you.[40]

In the same city, another witness commented:

> ...when you're Indian or otherwise, you soon learn you're different. They treat you different. You're talked to differently automatically, somehow or other.[41]

One man, appearing in San Francisco, attacked the "system" with particular reference to child adoption agencies:

Police brutality at San Francisco State reads like the Bobbsey Twins compared to social worker brutality. It emasculates the person and emasculates the children... It [emasculation] is a dirty, rotten, stinking term, and the social workers are doing it. When a police officer clubs you on the head -- and that's why we closed the rotten, stinking, racist institution down last year. It is a racist institution, just pure racism -- and you all know what racism is, and you all know what racists are. Look in the mirror and you will see a racist. In this country, it is all racism. That is what holds the economy together. I'm on welfare right now. I gave up my business and my apartment to go on welfare. I wanted to be on the lowest rung of the ladder.

We took 500 welfare recipients up to Sacramento to speak to the powers that be up there, to speak about getting children funds for education. You can't help welfare recipients in our economy. Our economy demands that the twenty percent base of our economy is poverty. If you remove that poverty, you have socialism, and capitalism cannot live on socialism.[42]

At a later point, the same witness observed succinctly:

Whites are pigs.[43]

Chairman Harris, during the Minneapolis hearings, thought that white paternalism was detrimental as well as racism. Speaking of institutional racism, she noted:

> Many times, it's so much a part of us we don't even realize it, particularly the non-Indian, or the majority people. It's just become a part of their everyday life...I think sometimes that Indian people -- if I may use the term -- are "loved to death." There are many good, well-meaning people, who want to be helpful, but don't know how. Their helpfulness is so patronizing, it's degrading. We need to learn the methods of telling people in an inoffensive way to reexamine their approach to problems. There are many, many people who are more harmful in their patronizing or paternalistic approach than the person who says things directly that are harmful.[44]

In San Francisco, Mrs. Harris reiterated:

> We're romanticized, and we're loved to death in many ways, and yet, as far as practicalities are concerned, things don't occur.[45]

A rather elaborate description of the failure of most whites to accept contemporary Indian sex roles was submitted for the record in Los Angeles:

> Their greatest problems, according to many of the Indians living in the San Antonio Health District, are the interrelated problems of alcoholism, budgeting of their family income, and adjustment to urban life. The American Indian culture is one that places men in a dominant position in the family and tribal life. Traditionally, the males hunted, fished and fought while females grew food in the gardens, cared for the children and old people, and "kept the home fires burning," literally. This division of responsibility has remained, but the areas for which the women are responsible include most of the contact with the white culture, such as making rent payments, buying food, contacting schools, clinics, doctors, and supervision of the children in an urban environment. The men, accustomed to spending their free time with other men, and unencumbered by the above family responsibilities, gather in bars and spend their money for alcohol. Thus the traditional role activities of one culture, when carried out in a foreign environment, are not sanctioned by the new culture. The white culture frowns upon the Indian father when he congregates with other males and spends his money in this manner, but to the Indians this behavior is understandable and the Indian women accept the situation, at least, up to this time.[46]

A representative of San Francisco's American Indian Historical Society, a book and magazine publisher, remarked about California Indians' difficulties in receiving the social services for which they were eligible:

> I'd just like to say one thing: it's what we call "double-talk, gobbledy-gook." You know, you're supposed to have it, but you don't get it. You go to the Attorney General, and he says you're supposed to have it, but you don't get it...You don't get it. Now, what is going on here? I think everybody should know, without a very expensive survey, because we had some people coming into our headquarters that got 450,000 dollars for a survey about Indians in the Chicago-Minneapolis district, and a month after this was paid for and over with, the situation had completely changed.

> That's why I raised the question. All the millions of dollars that are going into all these programs. Quit it! Quit it! Let the Indians take care of themselves. That's the whole thing; it's "double-talk, gobbledy-gook." You're supposed to have it, but you don't get it. And if you want to fight for it, you go around and around and around in a vicious circle, and maybe you get disgusted and say, the hell with it. That's the point. You're supposed to, but you don't.[47]

Interpersonal Relationships

At a few points during the hearings rather close or intense personal relationships between Indians and whites were described and, in one case, actually occurred. A Minneapolis Indian man pictured one such relationship:

> A man began to work with me, and he began to visit me. He visited me for two years, and it was a long, drawn-out process. He got me to believe in the Bible and to accept Jesus Christ for what he is. I did that. After I did that, he continued to work with me, and he felt that I was just as good as anybody else. He didn't look down on me.
>
> He began to take me out. He would say, "I want you to go out with me tonight, Charlie, and I'm going to introduce you to a group of people. All I want you to do is tell them your name, who you are.
>
> As time went by, he said, "Can you talk two minutes tonight? Can you talk about five minutes?" After about a year, "Will you talk fifteen minutes, a half hour?"
>
> Now, he was willing to sit down while I got up, talked, and told them what I thought. You see, in other words, in order to lift somebody up, you have to be willing to take the position of servantship. You cannot lord and master over them, and this is where we get the problem. This is where people don't have the ability to work with people. They look down upon them, and how can you ever lift them up then? You can't do it.
>
> This, again, is the old thing of being sensitive to another individual. But I think it is, basically, believing that an individual is capable, not only capable, but that they're a good thing.[48]

Another Indian man, testifying in Minneapolis, responded to personal criticism by a preceding witness by offering prolonged personal testimony, a portion of which is relevant here:

> I came up through the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, grew up on the reservation, had all the problems...But it was through the concern and interest of many non-Indian people who provided money and encouragement and everything else, that I was able to complete eight years of college. I would defy anybody to condemn me for having the guts to go through and get a degree so that I could work with my own people. I defy anybody to say that I'm not eligible to serve my own people because I have an education. I happen to be married to a very beautiful wife who happens to be non-Indian. I have happened to buy my own home. I have a fairly good salary. I feed my children regularly, see that they have good training and upbringing, and it's all because of good education. It's all because there were many interested and concerned people, Indian and non-Indian alike...The thing that gives me the courage and ability to stand up here, and in many other places around the country, and let my wishes and feelings be known is the fact that I was able to go on to college. It wasn't until I got into graduate school that I was pulled out of my own backwardness as a young Indian person who grew up in a community where I was told I was a second-rate citizen, where many things were done for others that were not done for the American Indian. I grew up with an attitude that I was a second-rate citizen. It wasn't until I got into graduate school that I was able to stand on my own feet and debate with other people who are non-Indian and share my own feelings and ideas.[49]

The Committee chairman urged Dallas' Indians to cultivate allies within the city, and she specifically suggested a visit to the mayor. An Indian man replied:

> ...You said go see the mayor. I went and danced for him. Well, I took off from work to go down and dance. One of the fellows went to introduce him to me, he just turned his back on me. He don't want to see me then dancing. Well, he surely won't want to see me now.[50]

At the other pole of Indian-white relationships was the encounter between an Indian witness in Phoenix and the white committee staff member who was substituting for Chairman Harris. A substantial portion of that testimony is revealing:

> MR. JESS SIXKILLER: I really don't have any business here this afternoon. I feel that this should be a local hearing, if that is what it is. The local Indian leaders ought to be the ones that are here. And if they are, you can come in and support us with your organization.
>
> Since I was put on the bill by my good friend, Mr. Cook, I am Jess Sixkiller, Cherokee, director of the organization called American Indians United.
>
> I am a product of Haskell Institute, but I overcame it.
>
> I did not come here to give you pearls of wisdom. I came here to ask a couple of questions.
>
> One is, who is running the national? What is the name of you your organization again?
>
> MR. HARGIS: National Council on Indian Opportunity.
>
> MR. SIXKILLER: What is the National Council on Indian Opportunity?
>
> MR. HARGIS: Do you mean the staff here?
>
> MR. SIXKILLER: I'm asking who is running it, sir.
>
> MR. HARGIS: It is run by executive --
>
> MR. SIXKILLER: Would you put that on the microphone so they can hear you?
>
> MR. HARGIS: It is run by a staff in conjunction with the department heads, or rather the secretaries of the departments, the seven major departments having any Indian programs, and nationally appointed Indian members who are the ones we named earlier, Cato Valandra, Wendell Chino, Ray Nakai, La Donna Harris, Willy Hensley, and Roger Jourdain.
>
> MR. SIXKILLER: Who appointed these people?
>
> MR. HARGIS: The President of the United States.

MR. SIXKILLER: Through who?

MR. HARGIS: Not through anybody as far as I know. It was done by --

MR. SIXKILLER: He did not appoint them directly?

MR. HARGIS: He appointed them by Executive Order that established the Council. And he named them in that Executive Order.

MR. SIXKILLER: Who recommended them to him?

MR. HARGIS: That, I don't know.

MR. SIXKILLER: Are they representatives of this area?

MR. HARGIS: I think Mr. Chino and Mr. Nakai are from this area in residence, if that's what you mean.

MR. SIXKILLER: Why aren't they here?

MR. HARGIS: They were unable to attend.

MR. SIXKILLER: All of them?

MR. HARGIS: That is the word I received.

MR. SIXKILLER: Why isn't there an Indian in your position? Why isn't there an Indian taking the dictation here?

MR. HARGIS: Because the reporting services are done by the Government Service Administration contracts. There is not an Indian in my position, simply because the gentleman who would have been here is in a meeting in Washington.

MR. SIXKILLER: Who is that?

MR. HARGIS: That is Mr. Reeves Nahwooksy.

MR. SIXKILLER: Who?

MR. HARGIS: Reeves Nahwooksy.

MR. SIXKILLER: Why is this meeting held in this hotel? Why isn't it held at the Indian Center across the street? That is where it belongs.

MR. HARGIS: All the meetings in the past have been tried to be held in a public place so that there would be an impartiality and not a problem --

MR. SIXKILLER: Partial to who?

MR. HARGIS: Impartial to all of the Indian communities.

MR. SIXKILLER: In other words, you are saying that this place here that you are paying X amount of dollars for, I don't know how much you are depriving the Indian Center of, but this money they could be getting for this meeting. What are you doing for the Indians?

MR. HARGIS: We're trying to give them an opportunity to speak to the council, as we explained earlier, and present --

MR. SIXKILLER: I shouldn't be asking you these questions. I should be asking the people that are on this Committee.

MR. HARGIS: That is correct.

MR. SIXKILLER: That is who I should be asking these questions of.

MR. HARGIS: That is right.

MR. SIXKILLER: You are nothing but a white man.[51]

Helpful Whites

As indicated by previous excerpts, the hearings revealed some whites who wished to be of help. In Dallas, for example, an Indian woman said:

> I'm in a position where I meet, for example, hundreds of Campfire Girls in Dallas, civic organizations, and church women who are not Indians. I dispense information at great length. It isn't that I know so much, it's that I spread it, a great many places. I find these people are most eager to learn things about Indians. They want to go around where Indian people are. If there are Indian people who need assistance in any way, such as taking them to hospitals, helping them to get information, these women want to help. They have the time and the cars. They have no transportation problem.[52]

And another Dallas Indian woman told of help for Indian children:

> ...I have worked with my sister and these businessmen's wives down in the slum area. They have offered our Indian children that are slow learning, tutoring. They're doing this all on their own, which I am thankful for.[53]

In Phoenix, an Indian woman was grateful:

> We are fortunate in Tucson to have an Anglo man who is interested in helping the Indian people. Through his encouragement I have learned that I can talk to anyone in any area concerning the Indian people.[54]

After describing a public speech containing much misinformation about Indians and given by a Southwestern Indian, a Minneapolis Indian man related this:

> ...One of our white friends, and we've got lots of them, took the floor and he said, "I listened to you and I want to ask you this, we are sympathetic, what can we do to help you?" How many here remember the answer. He shook his head and he says, "I guess your sympathy is all we can take." I thought that was the dumbest, crudest, craziest answer. We need white people to help us. We need their money especially.[55]

A non-Indian social worker in San Francisco described his need for more contact with Indians:

> I come from New York. Indians were something that were out West. I've just learned about Indians within the past year. It wasn't something I saw. Indians were some people that climbed buildings. You know, Mohawks went upon buildings and walked around on beams, or something like that. It wasn't until I came to San Francisco, actually Seattle, that it was a real thing.
>
> A lot of us want to know, and this is exactly the kind of thing I like to see going on, this kind of informative thing, where people say what they mean. If I have made mistakes, it's because I don't know.[56]

A non-Indian professional photographer in Dallas made this observation:

> There's no publicity on Indians here. You can't find them, you know. You could have 25,000 here or 25, I don't know, and you can ask other people around the city, "do you know where Indians are living and do you know an Indian." It's like asking where the buffalo herd is. There's no press relations. I think people would be very interested in knowing more about the Indians, but you can't accept what you don't even know is there. Most people aren't even aware that there would be this many in Dallas...You do need some spokesmen to say, "We're here and we want part of the deal."[57]

And in Dallas, Chairman Harris advised the Indians who attended the hearings:

> You do have allies, and I think you should make yourselves available, and make them aware of you and ask for help.[58]

Specific Problems Relating to Agencies and Other Segments of White Society

Numerous witnesses in the various cities had many comments to make about the problems Indians have with specific agencies and particular segments of the broader society. With respect to the quality of services rendered by agencies, there was considerable range in the opinions and perceptions expressed by Indian witnesses before the Committee, as the following comments will indicate.

A number of Indian people and others were concerned about employment. Some of their comments had to do with discrimination.

In Phoenix, an Indian man said:

> In terms of employment and housing, I remember the first time I had attended an Arizona Indian Association meeting I mentioned, I think, that we ought to be concerned about such things as discrimination in employment and housing. I really never got much of a reaction. I got some comments, we don't have that happen here. Well, hell, I know it

> happens here. It happens to many, many people here. It is happening in every other city in the United States. We don't deny the fact that we are getting discriminated against. We just ignore it like we have been ignoring it for years. But we really have in fact got to start asserting ourselves. It is not being done on the reservation, but it can be done here in these cities. We have got access to television. We have got access to the news media that the reservations do not have, and the kind of access that urban Indian people are getting used to and beginning to get accustomed, so we can eventually start making demands.[59]

Another Indian man appearing in Phoenix, a militant, took the National Council to task for spending too much money and employing non-Indians:

> I do charge them and this commission to show my people what they have done and why and where. Why don't they give the money they are using to fly around this country to the Indians and let them show them what we can do with it. We have highly capable people right here in this area. Where we have highly capable people, I can bring you into this area in twenty-four hours. If you name for me a particular specialist you need, I will have them here in twenty-four hours. I will guarantee it.
>
> You don't need to run around the country having these meetings like this. Let the Indians do it.[60]

A West Dallas mission worker was asked by Chairman Harris:

> Have you had any personal experiences of discrimination against Indians by the local community or by agencies? Because you're Indian, you're treated a particular way?

The witness replied:

> Not off-hand, I can't think of anything like that. Usually, if they find out you're Indian, you're more than welcome. Finding out you're Indian takes a little time.

Then the witness went on to note:

> On several occasions, we have had a man fill out unemployment and they did not come here under the Bureau so they can't go to the Bureau employment agency. Our knowledge of these other employments is very limited, and we've had two or three drop-outs. "Do not send me another Indian. I will not hire

another Indian," they say. I think that could help, if they would open the employment up.[61]

A Phoenix man was concerned about lack of progress in employing Indians in the city:

> Somewhere along the line somebody is missing the boat. But this is true for Sperry-Rand, for Goodyear, for GE, and all of the major companies here in the city of Phoenix, or in the Phoenix area.
>
> It would not be quite so bad if they were not so-called defense companies. They really have an obligation under their contracts not to be discriminatory and to make every effort to hire minority people. But we certainly don't find this to be true. We have got around 60,000 employees in the major companies in the Phoenix area, and less than 100 Indians are employed.
>
> For the most part, I would venture to say that we have been more well-trained over the years than have the Mexican-Americans, and they have got almost 100 times as many people working in these firms than we have.
>
> Either we have been getting some lousy training, or the companies have been discriminating, or we are just not competent, but I don't believe that. I think we have got all kinds of competent people.
>
> But, on the other hand, you look at the Navaho reservation, where Fairchild company had a minimal entrance requirement. You could get into the companies with an eighth grade education, going down to the third grade. It is a fine company which makes semi-conductors. Now it seems you ought to be able to do the same with companies in Phoenix, but somehow this has not happened here.[62]

A woman in Dallas had strong feelings about employment discrimination:

> Let me tell you something. If you work, you can make it, if you can get a break. Because you're an Indian, or because they think you're an Indian, or a different color, you can't get a break. They won't take their foot off your neck, they won't let you up or give you a job. It's hard for an Indian...If they'll give us a job, and when we deserve advancement and a raise, if they'll give us a break, they won't have a BIA office. We don't have to have it. All we need is a chance.[63]

Employment also was perceived as a problem in San Francisco, where one witness commented:

> Another thing important is the unemployable youth. There is a certain age where a youth can very seldom get a job, between 17 on up to 22. Very few companies will hire these young people. I had, not the pleasure, but I did have a chance to talk to the grandson of the founder of the Zellerbach Paper Company, and he told me to find an Indian youth a job in this age bracket is almost impossible. Even an older Indian has a hard time finding a job, because of the reputation which Indians have. You find a lot of companies will not hire Indians because, "Oh, they just get drunk. The first paycheck, they're drunk and they won't be back for a couple of days."[64]

A Dallas employer confirmed these impressions:

> The only thing I say is this: as far as the behavior and so forth, why, their temperament, something about it, they can't stand hard liquor. I can tell you this, because just today, I got a couple out of jail. This is something I think the people themselves need to understand. This is one of the things they need to be advised and helped with, because I don't know how many I've helped get out and it's continuing to be a problem. If you want to give them help, this is one of the areas I feel is a real serious problem because their families are hurt. I've had wives come in and tell me, "The boys have been in for six months, I didn't have anything to eat and look how thin I am," things like this. It makes you sick. This is why I say, I'm here tonight. I want to help, I'm more than glad to give any man an opportunity.[65]

An Indian minister who appeared in Dallas confirmed this employer attitude:

> I do public accounting and I have come in contact with several people that employ Indians. Some of them don't like the Indian people because they say they get drunk, and miss so many days of work, and you can't depend on them. But, on the other hand, the Indians are not the only ones. There are a lot of other people doing this same thing, so we just can't hold that against our Indian people.[66]

The Dallas employer previously quoted said that he employed from 20 to 30 Indians, and that he worked directly with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and law officers in cases of difficulty. He went on to explain his attitude toward Indian employees:

> I'd like to say, one of the biggest problems I have as an employer is whenever the boys think they have a problem or something like that, and they want to go back to the reservation. This seems to be the only place they feel they can get comfortable. This is not good. I think the chiefs themselves, need to counsel them on how to solve their problems. The ones that seem to adapt themselves better are the young ones that have worked here for a while. They don't seem to rely so much on going back to their tribes. The older ones, have more of a problem. There are a lot of things that I'd like to tell you. I listened to part of the discussion before about people being accepted. I think they're well accepted in our place of business. They're taken as one. We have all kinds, we have white, black, Indians, you name it. We're more than happy to work with them. There's no difference, and they all have the same opportunity according to the ability they show and what effort they put forth. I say, I'll always welcome any Indian or any other man, he's got a job as long as he comes, works regular, and does a job for me. He's taken care of.[67]

But an Indian member of the audience questioned the employer about the type of work and the maximum pay that could be expected on such jobs:

> Say, how many years do you have to work before you get $3.75?[68]

The employer replied:

> Well, I told you, it depends on the skill and the job. I didn't say every man got that money.[69]

The Indian questioner responded:

> That's what I know.[70]

An Indian woman in Phoenix described the favorable treatment she received from co-workers:

...I learned to work with people. I worked with all nationalities. I was invited out by customers that came and found out that there was an Indian working in the kitchen -- I was the only Indian. Once in a while we would have other Indians, but they never stayed with it. I would go out with the different people. I have gone with people from Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania. They took me out to dinner, which was nice.

Among my friends were the workers of Westward Ho. I went with them. I have not been bored. Every once in a while I would say something about this stupid Indian. They would tell me, you said it, we didn't. We don't think of you as an Indian. We think of you as one of us.

Well, I learned to keep my mouth shut about being a stupid Indian, because I learned and realized that they thought of me just like anybody else. The only trouble that I really had was the Indians that came in from the reservations who would congregate. They would get drunk. They would carry on. Yet on my part, I am not saying I didn't drink. Yes, I did. I saw a friend of mine one day. I saw what she looked like, and I made up my mind I would not be that way the rest of my life either. So I quit.[71]

The Dallas employer previously cited was satisfied with the quality of his Indian employees:

> ...They run mixers and mills, weigh rubber, various parts of our operation. They're good workers, let me say. I like them.[72]

The Dallas Indian minister, who was quoted earlier, had this to say:

> ...There are some employers who say the Indians are fine workers...[one of them] wants to train these Indians as foremen and wanted to know if the government or the Bureau of Indian Affairs had any money they could use to help along with the training. In other words, he was going to work them during the day, then have classes in the evening, and then, of course, he would probably instruct them along both lines in the daytime...another thing I've learned in counseling with the Indians, and with employers -- I think if we could find someone to act as a go-between, not to go into private

> affairs or anything, but on working conditions. The Indian people can do good. I feel the main thing is to get a little confidence in themselves, and a little ambition, and the actual wanting to do the things that will be good for them and their families, and, of course, for their employers.[73]

An Indian man appearing in Los Angeles, who was a laboratory technician, felt that hiring was impartial:

> ...In Los Angeles, I was never given a job because I was an Indian, or because I wasn't an Indian. I found competition for any job I ever held, they showed me no sympathy whatsoever...I think I am one of the few Indian technologists here, but I compete for jobs in this field. They show me no mercy because I am an Indian.[74]

Finally, there was a kind of ambivalence expressed toward entry into Western economic life, as described by an Indian man in Phoenix:

> I would like to focus on social problems in general, not just for minority groups, but both industrial, a dominating industrial society throughout the nation. In fact, not just this nation, but other countries down in South America, Europe, places like Africa, New Zealand, and others. I think people throughout these countries are faced with the problems we are faced with here today. The domination of an economic system, as we know here in this country, how do we break into the system as a minority group, not just as a Navaho or a Pima, but as a man...We see that a white man's society today is a beautiful thing. We wish that we could become a part of this, and enjoy the economic opportunities. And yet we can not, for certain elements are involved. I would like to add this. I want to be a part of the system. Yet at this day and point, do I really want to be a part of this system, because in this nation today we have such an uprising throughout the universities...Why do people not want to change into the white society, or the dominant society. Then again why are the sominant society and their middle class children resigning from it? It is a big question for all of us to be concerned about.[75]

Besides difficulties with employment, concern was expressed by some witnesses about the process of <u>law enforcement</u>. A Los Angeles attorney, under contract to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to provide legal services to Indians participating in the relocation program, provided these insights:

Probably the real problem with Indians in the law is the transition from the reservation to the urban area. Possibly because there is a different application in law enforcement, in that a police officer in an Indian community may take a violator home. In Los Angeles, there are many violators, they are indiscriminately put in jail and filed upon...I would say 99 and possibly some fraction of a percent, of the violators, violate the law because of alcoholism. We find most of the kids that are rapped in robbery, burglary, grand theft, auto, are there because they have done something while intoxicated...[another problem] is the orientation of the police officer...I find a lot of the problems arise in the Main Street area. There are two or three bars down on Main Street, and what happens is, a couple of fellows will have words, then it leads to a battle. The battle usually takes place in the back part of the institution or in the parking lot. Like all battles, there is always a winner and a loser. The winner usually retires to the bar for another drink, and the loser picks himself up. The cops come, and they ask him what happened. There is a little stuttering going on, because nobody wants to lose. He is asked if he has lost any of his personal property, and usually he says yes, because there has to be a reason for this fight. Right away in California, that makes it robbery. I would say five or six years ago, they would search the premises and the alleged defendent was pointed out very readily, "he did it." He is booked on a robbery charge. Now the police officers are much more discriminating in their asking of questions. They find out in fact it wasn't a robbery at all, it was just a plain old fight.[76]

Chairman Harris asked the attorney:

> Do you find discrimination in arrests because people are Indians?[77]

The attorney's response was revealing:

> Yes and no. Let me say in certain areas the Indian is discriminated against, more likely down on Main Street, because it is a trouble area. I know, if a police officer goes down there, and everybody is sort of feeling their oats on a Saturday night, he has to gather as many guys up as he can, put them in the wagon and haul them away. A lot of times, you gather up the non-drinker or a fellow who really isn't drunk. They figure, well a guy down there is drunk, particularly if he is an Indian. In other areas there is a lot less discrimination. A lot has to do with the police officer himself.[78]

In San Francisco, an Indian corrections officer from San Quentin had a great deal to say about law enforcement:

> I think in dealing with law enforcement and the Indian, there should be some preventive measures. They are reluctant to arrest the Indian, who is obviously too drunk, bouncing against the citizens walking down the street. They will drive away. They will not hesitate to come and pinch him, after he gets himself hurt, or gets someone hurt, or commits a felony. I'm talking about preventive measures. It would be better for the Indian and everyone concerned, if it's obvious the man is drunk, take him and put him in the tank tonight, cut him loose tomorrow, rather than wait for him to get into serious problems. We have laws restricting them from serving the Indian or any person who has obviously had too many drinks. There are laws you are not to serve anyone who is excessively drunk. But they do serve anyone who is excessively drunk. But they do serve the drunken Indian more liquor. In fact, they're so hungry to make money off a drunken Indian, they'll go out and drag him off a sidewalk to take him money away from him...Much of it is through misunderstanding. The shy Indian that's arrested and drunk, so drunk he doesn't remember getting arrested, and the following day is approached by the officer, and the officer says, "You know what you're here for?" "No, I don't." "Well, you were out there drinking with somebody last night, with three people. You killed one of them by kicking him. What have you got to say for that?" "Well, if you say I did, I guess I did." That's his defense...They're not being made aware of their rights, because there's nobody in the state of California, or anywhere else in this country, that makes Indians aware. Nobody cares about the drunken Indian that's in trouble. This goes for a lot of the Indian people, too, because we experience drunks in our families, and we figure if we don't talk about them, don't see them, they don't exist. It's only now, in the recent year or two, that there's beginning to be some concern...Our prisons are loaded with Indians. The poor Indian that don't understand English, he's a chronic alcoholic, he's an active TB patient. He's taken and placed in the county hospital. He's not aware that it is an illegal felony for an active TB case to walk away from confinement, but he does. Where does he find himself? In a state penitentiary, with criminals. Was this man notified of his rights? Was he notified that it was illegal for him to do this? Does he understand after being notified? Does he understand English? Does he understand a legal term? No. Does the man belong in the penitentiary? No. Who does he have to turn to? Nobody.

> ...I don't mean to be a big windbag up here, Mrs. Harris, but I'd just like to say two things. One, many times the Indian, the American Indian, because of lack of understanding in the community, when he gets arrested, there's a felony pending and he goes to court. Now, because he has no one to turn to for assistance or advice, and this is a normal experience that Indians go through, he has no funds and no one to help him. He is appointed assistance, by the same hostile community that got him in jail and in this court room. The same hostile community chooses a public defender to defend him. He sees the chances he's got, and he just adds it up. He sees this, and it's a useless thing. To eliminate any more embarrassment to his family, many a time the Indian will be admitting to a lot of things, just hurry on these convictions to get out of the court room.[79]

An Indian woman in Dallas noted:

> Look at the whites, what they're doing, running to and fro with their automobiles, drunker than any Indian you've ever seen. You never saw an Indian as drunk as some of these whites. What are they talking about?[80]

The same witness asserted that Indian prisoners were suffering discrimination:

> Monday morning you can't walk for the Indians in the jailhouse. I went down to trial the other day. What did they bring in with chains on them? Indians. What did they bring in there? Indians with chains on them. I sat there and cried. Look, this is not a good picture, you might as well face it. Why didn't they put some chains on the white ones? They had fifteen white ones and seven Indians. Why didn't they chain up the whites?[81]

But in the same city an Indian mission worker was less certain that there was discrimination:

> CHAIR: Let's take the subject of justice. I'd like to get your reaction on that. Do you feel the arrest rates are higher in the Indian community than in others?
>
> MRS. JOHNSON: No, I don't.
>
> CHAIR: Delinquency, particularly?
>
> MRS. JOHNSON: Well, in some families, that varies, too. I'm trying to think back. We have a lot of public drunkanness and disturbing peace.

CHAIR: That are actually arrested?

MRS. JOHNSON: Never arrested, just kind of bawled out a little bit.

CHAIR: Are they aware of legal services?

MRS. JOHNSON: They're aware of legal services, but when you get on the legal service, you wait forever. Some of them will give up, go back, and receive the same punishment before it's brought to court. They have to go back, it's something that could be improved, I believe.[82]

And a non-Indian employer in Dallas, when asked by Chairman Harris if he thought that Indians got a fair break from the law, responded:

I think so, I think so. I have no reason to think differently.[83]

In San Francisco, an Indian man pointed out:

We know there are Indian people that get into trouble; we don't want the laws changed just especially for Indians, but we want the chance, that opportunity, what's rightfully theirs, legal and sincere representation in court; this is what they want.

The Negroes have the NAACP. A Negro can go out and chop somebody's head off, and the NAACPs across the country will be screaming their heads off. What has the Indian got? Nothing in the line of justice. And this is what we want.[84]

Also in San Francisco, there was criticism of legal aid:

If the Indian thinks he is getting help from the American Legal Assistance, that's a myth: they were the first people to sell the Indian down the river. Those lawyers -- and I'd like to direct this to you, sir, if you're supposed to bring this back to Washington -- they are not helping the Indians. They are helping themselves, and they are helping the establishment to keep the Indians in their place.[85]

Another San Francisco witness, a representative of the American Indian Historical Society, questioned a California Indian Legal Assistance Program:

We want to know about that California Indian Legal Assistance Association that got $450,000. Why can't they be involved in something like this? The money always goest to the wrong place.[86]

Another Indian witness responded:

> On the question of Mrs. Costo there, on the California Indian Legal, we had two representatives over at San Quentin on it, and they stated that their funds that they obtained for legal aid, they just don't have enough to go into criminal proceedings; that their funds are set up to assist groups of Indian people, but they handle no criminal cases.[87]

Also in San Francisco, an Indian woman from the United Native Americans described her perception of the system of justice for American Indians:

> Now, the American Indian lives under six forms of justice. You people have only two laws to obey: your state laws and your federal laws. The American Indian has his cultural laws. He has his tribal laws. He has the civil courts, the state court, the federal courts; and then he has policy. The policy is laid down by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And under the policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, no Indian can obtain justice, because they should not even have to go through the other five steps if policy was meant to benefit the American Indian...Let me go on and break it down to you: under cultural laws, we had justice because our own people decided the decisions. Then, under policy, we had tribal laws which were bent to suit the policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but it was maintained by our own tribal people. But the "Uncle Tomahawks," they were put in charge of tribal laws worked for policy, so the Indian could not get justice under tribal law. He knows better than to try the Civil Court or the Supreme Court. The mere fact that he is an Indian designates that he is not going to get justice.
>
> Under Federal law if the crime was committed on the reservation, and under Federal law, he does not have his choice of attorneys because ninety percent of the time the attorney is appointed by the tribe. He works for two masters. He naturally is going to serve the man that pays him, not the lowly Indian that is up before him.
>
> Consequently, this leaves policy. If you change policy and you do away with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and all the injustices that they have committed against the American Indian for the last 150 years -- in relation to an article that appeared in the paper last week about the cruelty to the Indian children of the Chiloco Indian School in Oklahoma, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is taking the credit for discovering that cruelty. Why shouldn't they have discovered it? They are the greatest perpetrators of cruelty to the American Indian that there is.[88]

Finally, a non-Indian representative of the California Indian Legal Services in San Francisco explained his program:

> ...I would like to take a few minutes to explain what our program is doing and how it is that some of these needs for legal services aren't being met by CILS.
>
> One of the things that was brought up this morning was the need for representation in criminal cases. The rules that we operate under, which are the rules of the Office of Economic Opportunity, generally prohibit us from taking criminal cases. Only if there is no public defender and no system for appointing counsel can we get into a case. Now, because of Supreme Court edicts, it's practically impossible for a locality not to have one or the other of those systems for providing counsel, so generally speaking, we cannot get into a criminal prosecution at all.
>
> Also, Indians have many, many legal problems which are the same sort of legal problems that white men have. They have contract problems, welfare problems, divorce problems, adoption problems. They are very, very numerous and they definitely need attention, but we have a very limited staff, and there are many, many problems that involve Indian law and questions that affect many, many Indians.
>
> ...Our Board of Directors which has a majority of Indians, although OEO is balking at that -- they don't think it's a good idea for a group that's being served to control the organization that's serving them -- has rebelled somewhat at the idea of our getting too involved in urban legal problems. We don't have a whole lot of staff and there are many, many rural Indian legal problems to be solved, so at least until such time as we get a larger staff, we really will not be able to get too involved in the problems of urban Indians, even their special Indian problems.
>
> ...I'd like to point out that, unfortunately, all of the lawyers are white men. This is very regrettable. Last summer, we had an Indian law student from the University of New Mexico law school working with us as a summer clerk. We tried to get another summer clerk from New Mexico, which has an Indian law training program, which is a program for Indian law students.
>
> Unfortunately for us -- perhaps fortunate for the Indians -- OEO has seen fit to send fifty Indians who are trained to be law students to Washington this summer to be summer interns with Congressmen in the Federal agencies, so it seems that we will not be able to get an Indian with us this summer as a law clerk.

> I think it's important for you to know that we know at least three people, including one of our community workers -- we have two Indian community workers -- one of them will probably go to law school next year, and we know of two other California Indians who are seriously thinking of going to law school, so that in the future you may have Indians who are lawyers, who will be able to serve you. As I say, it's unfortunate that you have to be served by white honkey lawyers, but there doesn't seem to be any way around it for the time being.[89]

During the hearings some witnesses commented about the general responsiveness of social service agencies and other segments of the total urban community.

A Los Angeles witness said:

> Anything the Indians have done in Los Angeles, has been about 99 percent on their own. If the Indian Center or the Welcome House is successful, it's because they themselves have done it, and not anything the city or county or the State of California has done.[90]

But another Indian witness in Los Angeles had a different impression:

> ...there is every opportunity for the Indians here. It is probably contrary to the others. I have had health officers call me in regard to many things, the health programs, and say,"We'll run your Indians ahead of the others, if you'll only bring them over." In regard to birth control, in regard to cancer, and all of these programs, we have had nothing but open arms from every agency around.
>
> I had a judge in Los Angeles that was willing to come to our church, sit down and talk to the men that had been delivered from alcoholism and drinking, and he asked if we would help these Indians and we have until we lost our home because of finances. We weren't able to keep it up.
>
> But there are many opportunities around. There are many places out on the desert that are willing to take Indians in that are alcoholics and help them. There are all kinds.
>
> The health program sits in Department 58 and they get these men and take them over and begin to get them on antidotes. I would like to say there is nothing but open arms here in the Los Angeles area for the American Indians.[91]

However, staff member Carmack, substituting for Chairman Harris, concluded that there was insufficient involvement and concern on the part of the local community. He commented:

> I see too little evidence of serious involvement on the part of the local community, the county, or the state. I see little evidence of involvement on the part of the institution of higher education.
>
> I have heard nothing of the contributions and involvement of the great philanthropic foundations. I think this has to be pointed out.
>
> We have seen a great deal of self-help and involvement on the part of Indian groups. We see stories and hear stories of a lack of flexibility in the administration of programs, a preoccupation with form more than substance sometimes.[92]

One Indian man in Phoenix felt the crux of the problem was at the lowest operational level:

> Any new development, any new program, that is projected within an Indian community requires the Federal agencies to operate within the criteria of the established rules and regulations or the intent of law. This also holds true with the city government. The city governments do have basic rules and regulations and policy standards. They establish policies. They establish rules and regulations. They establish city ordinances. But when it gets down to the area of various recreation parks, as mentioned, you find that the prejudice, the biased attitudes and opinions are usually rendered by the small people in the area of the recreational program.[93]

Another Phoenix witness did not feel that there was substantial discrimination in recreation programs:

> As far as the recreation areas are concerned, they are limited, but I did not find that an obstacle. I went out and looked for it. They had a newspaper clipping that said free tennis, go for three sessions. If you like it and want to continue, then you have to pay for the lessons. I tried the three sessions, liked it, and have gone on with it.
>
> Then there was the bowling team. I did not know how to bowl, but I went out anyway. There was intermingling. It was not all Indian. It was white, Mexican -- you name it -- they were all on the board. I did not run into any discrimination anywhere. Nobody told me I was Indian. I joined and I excelled.[94]

In Dallas, an Indian minister said:

> In the six months I have been here, Dallas has given our church cooperation, all of the agencies I have called are willing to really go all out to help us.[95]

From nearby Fort Worth, an Indian man presented another picture of community acceptance:

> As far as how they're received in the community, I have one example of a little boy the other day at a school. He came up to me and he said, "Hi, mister. I'm an American Indian," and he was proud of it, in the community where he lived. he lived in an outstanding community, but the family he belongs to is white and not Indian. You know, Indian from the outside, white on the inside. Our Indians who are Indian throughout face a different situation. They're not assimilated into the white culture, and our experience in the mission in Fort Worth is five years ago, no Indians attended church in Fort Worth.[96]

A Phoenix Indian woman spoke of housing discrimination:

> Through the efforts of very many Anglo people, I am glad to say that we have some advantages. But in Tucson, in the housing problem, my husband works as a silversmith. His boss built a home for us, right after the war when he came back from overseas duty. And we were told we couldn't move on the East Side because we were Indians.[97]

In San Francisco, an Indian militant wondered why the local news media had not attended the hearings. Chairman Harris noted that they had been invited and had attended in the morning but then she commented:

> It is an interesting thing, and one of the things that bothers me, particularly about news coverage about Indians, it's always the poverty, the negative in things. I know at one time I was interviewed on a national program when they were presenting, you know, "the Indian problem," and I don't even like that term.
>
> But the fact is that the negative approach is used always. For instance, the media should be here to photograph concerned Indians who are trying to make a contribution to solving their own problems and their problems with the community. The community's problem, is really the proper term.[98]

Also in San Francisco a representative of an Indian organization in Oakland advocated a halfway house for alcoholics. He was asked if very many Indians attend the Alcoholics Anonymous meetings, and he indicated that there were few, if any, who did so. Another Indian witness interjected:

> What Mr. Red Bird said about the AA, I went several years ago in Texas, and also here in San Francisco, and it's geared more to a social organization than anything else, and within the last four or five years it has become pretty big business, as has Synanon. Actually, that's all the point I wanted to make. It's a social organization, and can't possibly conform to anything except possibly the middle class, white standards. If it weren't geared this way, they wouldn't be able to conduct it and make as much profit.[99]

A representative of the Department of Social Services in San Francisco expressed his concern about Indian alcoholism and wanted to learn more. An Indian witness thought Indian alcoholism was different from that which afflicts non-Indians and attributed it to institutional causes:

> ...so far as alcoholism, the Indian's alcoholism and the white man's alcoholism, they are two different alcoholisms. The white man's alcoholism is a sex hangup; the Indian's alcoholism is because he was totally, completely, one hundred percent emasculated by the Department of Social Welfare concept of this country, and that's what you're up against. You are up against emasculation; the emasculation of the red man...and how many Indians have you got working for you, mister, in the Department of Welfare? That many of them you got, and if you have got any working for you, they're nothing but Toms. If the white man wants the Indian to have his own thing to do, go back to the White Father in Washington and give these poor Indians some money. They need the white man's money, because they live in a white man's society. We need the white man's money. So, stop emasculating these Indians. You're stuck in the bag with the Department of Social Work, mister, because you're a social worker --[100]

In Dallas, Chairman Harris lamented the absence of city officials at the hearings, noting that they had been invited to attend. She went on to say:

> It sounds like it's all the Indian's responsibility -- I feel like the city ought to -- not the city -- well, the citizenry of Dallas -- there's no reason why Indians shouldn't feel comfortable here...I have a feeling that there is no give and

> take...The Indian is giving, they go to the opening ceremonies for the library and go and perform free. They volunteer their services for civic activity, opening of art shows, things like that. I don't see anything coming in the other direction. Maybe the city itself isn't knowledgeable of the Indian population.[101]

A Minneapolis Indian person spoke of institutional racism in general:

> I would like to comment on this whole aspect of institutional racism. The institutions serving the Indian people are the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Public Health Service -- the two major Federal agencies -- plus, within recent years, OEO and some others. There needs to be more understanding of the Indian people from personnel in these positions. If we examine people in the positions of power in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we will see that most of the people in the positions of power, and by that I mean area directors and branch chiefs, are not Indian people. They are non-Indian people.
>
> One of my black friends mentioned once that, "If there was a Bureau of Black Affairs, believe me, we would be in there taking over." I think this is what the Indian people need to do. They need to become more active in these positions of power and be involved at the decision-making level.
>
> There needs to be educational programs beamed at the reservation level, giving positive information on all minority groups. Most of the information on minority groups comes in as negative. I feel this has a very divisive effect. One of the conclusions of this particular committee, and a report will be coming out in June and also in September, is that although there are certain distinct differences among minority groups, there are many similarities. It will be helpful and necessary for the various groups to work together to bring out good solutions to the problems.
>
> The Federal agencies need to examine their personnel practices. It's been my observation that many people are brought into positions who know little about Indian people, who lack sensitivity. Yet they make decisions affecting large numbers of Indian people. Oftentimes, I find they will select Indians on an ad hoc basis, people who are not necessarily the best ones to articulate the needs. They select people who tell them what they want to hear and not as it is. I think this needs to be changed.

> Oftentimes with these big bureaucracies, if you stand up and speak out, pressure is put on you and you are not able to function as well as you would like to.[102]

Even where discrimination and community acceptance were not seen as problems, there were other difficulties. One problem raised in Phoenix was the short-term focus of most agency efforts:

> ...basically we are dealing with a psychological problem. You cannot change the society overnight, especially an Indian. You have got to have a fifty year program, and you just can't have a five year program and fizzle out.[103]

And an Indian witness in San Francisco thought non-Indian right-wing groups were a threat:

> While I was at the University of Arizona, I started an Indian Student Program. This is the second thing I think the Indians have to watch out for. This was the way the extreme right-wing people began to take up the American Indian as a favorite, and to try to convince him he was different from the other minorities, and to give him in a sense, encouragement to discriminate against the other minorities. Now, I started something, the Indian Student Program, which is still going on there. We have various aspects to it, the tutoring program, the counseling program, and an Indian club in which all of the officers were Indian and most of the members were Indian. There were some Anglo students, and one or two black students. I recall, we had a social affair and stood all around in a great circle with our arms around each other. There was one black student who had his arm around me on one side and an Indian girl on the other side. This appeared in one of the papers up in northern Arizona. We got a flood of poison pen letters about letting these pure American Indians mix with blacks. But, this is typical of what goes on when right-wing tries to break up a healthy identification with the problems of other minority groups.

White control of the institution closest to Indians -- the B.I.A. -- was attacked by a Sioux man in San Francisco:

> ...let's talk about how we're going to get this tremendous budget that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has, and move from the money -- I mean, from the white people who are controlling it -- we've got an Indian Commissioner, but he's probably a figurehead -- moving the money from the Bureau to the tribes themselves, and see what they can do. I think the Navaho tribe is doing more than any of the other tribes.[105]

And in San Francisco an Indian militant thought the hearings themselves were white-dominated, a subterfuge for more research about Indians, and a self-admitted failure:

> MR. BRIGHTMAN: First, I want to say I'm pleased to come up here and speak to another survey that's being taken, made up, obviously, of white people. You've got a white man out there directing; you've got another white person here.
>
> I've seen two Indians in this whole deal. It's another survey that's made up to come in and find out our problems. If they ever wanted to find out our problems, you'd think they would ask Indians themselves, instead of sending another predominantly white survey team to come down here and survey us.
>
> Another thing: why do you hold the survey here in the Sheraton-Palace, which is one of the largest hotels; one of the richest in the United States?
>
> Yesterday, I talked to a young man standing back here and he said that he was afraid to come in here. He wasn't dressed appropriately. Also, about five of his other friends wouldn't come in because they didn't have the proper attire.
>
> If you want to meet the poor Indians, I wouldn't think that the Sheraton-Palace would be the proper place to meet them. Go down to the American Indian Center, to the Friendship House over in Oakland, to the Oakland American Indian Association, or the friendship house here. These are where the poor Indians go, not the Sheraton-Palace.
>
> And I sit back here and watch predominantly white people get up here and talk. We've got more Indians here who are perfectly capable of getting up and talking but we've got all these white people coming up and telling our problems. We need Indians in here telling the problems, not white people.
>
> I've got nothing against white people; just what they did to our people. You ought to have Indians up here talking. This is another case of exploitation, you might say. Another white survey team comes in and exploits us.
>
> And yesterday, you made the statement that you didn't actually think this was going to do any good; you had to convince the people in Washington that there were Indians in the urban areas. Well, we all know that there are about 300,000 in the urban areas and 300,000 on the reservations. And you, you're supposed to be the big authority, you come from a reservation. You even misquoted yesterday. You said there was, what, 300 Indians here in the Bay Area, something like that?

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: No, you're wrong.

MR. BRIGHTMAN: What was the quotation?

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: And I don't come from a reservation.

MR. BRIGHTMAN: 8,000? There are between 8 and 10 thousand, supposedly, right here in the Bay Area.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: I made a statement about Dallas.

MR. BRIGHTMAN: Well, the thing is, this has become a big mockery.[106]

More aversion to "being studied" was apparent from the comments of one Indian man in Phoenix:

> Now for us, the Yaqui Indians, we are not recognized as Indians here in the United States, because, as I said, my ancestors migrated into the United States, and they are Mexican Indians. But the majority of us were born here, raised here in the United States. So I consider myself an American Indian.
>
> Although, as I said, we are not recognized by the government or various tribes of Indians as Indians, unfortunately, we are recognized by the anthropologists or various Anglo groups who are always interested in writing or publishing the life or the ways of the Yaqui Indians.[107]

On the other hand the chairman of the United Bay Area Council of American Indian Affairs, testifying in San Francisco, reported indifference on the part of non-Indian researchers:

> We also seek a meaningful and realistic survey and census of Indian people here in the Bay Area, to be conducted by Indian researchers. Members of our Council made a special trip to Arizona State College four years ago, requesting an expansion of their studies to include urban Indians, and met with an indifferent attitude.[108]

Another San Francisco witness had this to say about research:

> We had a little fight at UCLA that some of these people might know about...UCLA down there wanted to have a program down there. As a matter of fact, they had several million dollars a few years ago to study about Indians. Indians didn't know anything about this, of course.

But when you maasure something, you say what good is any money unless the end product is changed? So, the Ford Foundation made a study on this, because Indians never even knew about the money. But the money was being used for what? For UCLA to train their doctorates to do some work, and then it's filed in this big file here. Just like the program at the University of Chicago that's being studied. They went up to the Hoopa Reservation. They're studying all about the Hoopas, my people, and all of that, and what's going to happen? It's going to be filed in the file, get dust on it, and there's going to be no change in the Hoopas as a result of that study.

Foundations are getting a little wise to this. We're informing them, too, not only Indian people; we're informing everybody that we can inform. We've pretty much given them the idea that they'd better start asking,"Were there Indians involved in this project? Are they in control, and can they evaluate this project when it's through?" Well, UCLA had this big, beautiful project all written up and everything, and they got turned down. They said, "You've got to have Indians."

> We had already had a statewide meeting and set up a higher education committee to work with the universities, who are working with the universities or state colleges. We have a whole number of them going right now.[109]

Another San Francisco Indian man, a board member of the United Native Americans, complained about research:

> We are the most studied group in the United States. Yet, our problems are not treated. They sit there collecting dust, and yet, big foundations spend millions of dollars having American Indians studied. Where did they go? I really don't know. Yet, when we ask for small organizations, we solicit for funds, all we get is sympathy. I see there is a lot of agencies here today picking our brains. "How can we help?", they don't say. They just give you sympathy.[110]

Finally, there were some who felt that even the process of holding hearings, related as it is to the traditional methods of non-Indian government in this country, was entirely futile:

> It seems like whenever a bunch of people get together like this some official or some person from above a government place or Washington knows what's going on. You know, everybody has a complaint, and it's a real phoney thing to me, because all the people have kind of spoke. I'm sure Mrs. Harris heard it in Los Angeles, things that are so similar. I guess you could say, government officials come to the city, listen to the Indians' problems, and the same old thing happens. They go back to Washington and that's the end of it. I think that's what is happening here today.[111]

Indian-Black Relationships

For most reservation culture Indians, establishment of residence in a city brings with it the first extensive contact with black Americans. From what some Indian people said during the hearings, it is evident that such contact is not always perceived by Indians as rewarding. An Indian woman in Minneapolis spoke of the attitudes of Indian people when she said:

> They feel the white man has done too much harm to the Indians in the past, and now the black man wants to do the same thing.[112]

Direct competition between Indians and blacks seems to occur in anti-poverty programs which are intended for all poor people. As a non-Indian social service consultant in Los Angeles told the Committee:

> There may be exceptions, but I think the voice of the Indian, including in Los Angeles, is so small compared to the voice of other, better organized and less fractionized groups -- you know, fractionization of Indians is one of the greatest problems. It tends to defeat itself, but in general, the black and the brown voices of California are much louder, much more militant, and they get a much greater share of the dollar.[113]

A Minneapolis Indian man gave his view:

> The poverty programs are by and large a farce as far as the Indians are concerned. It may be somewhat different up in the Bemidji area, but as I evaluated the poverty programs they were really a joke. They play the one little, two little Indian game. They hired one or two, as a storefront operation, but they were mostly black controlled and black orientated. I think the poverty program was an overreaction to

the riots. In other words, they reinforce the riot situation.

An example right now, a new program on the scene, is the Concentrated Employment Program. There is approximately fifty people involved in this program. Three of them are Indian, and the rest are mostly black, some whites.

Now, the Concentrated Employment Program engulfs an area which is an estimated population of 5,000 Indians. It's a known fact that Indians will not respond to a black program. They will not participate. They don't come in, so the blacks are playing the same old game that the white man has played. They have demanded equality and have not been able, themselves, to give it. So this is primarily what exists.

As far as the Indian is concerned, poverty programs are one big joke. We have one or two storefront Indians and a few little droplings here and there, of funds.[114]

An Indian mother in Minneapolis agreed:

> When the black minority has taken over everything that is ongoing in the poverty area, naturally the child is going to follow in their footsteps and figure they should have everybody bending their knees to him. I mean, this is the impression a child gets in the home. That's where the child learns. In the poverty programs, as long as we're on the subject, I will bring that up, too. In the poverty programs, there was Indian discrimination. They are not included. You don't see Indian directors, sitting on the poverty programs. I was on a planning staff at Pilot Center, doing the planning of the center on the North Side. When it was terminated January 14th in 1967, I was the only one that wasn't rehired. I said there is so much discrimination from the black community from the standpoint of the directors in charge. They use available job spots to fill with their own people. Maybe I would be the same way. Maybe I would do the same thing, who knows, if I had the opportunity. I would like to have it.[115]

And the Indian woman employed by that anti-poverty agency gave her -- appraisal:

I am that token Indian they talk about when they say there are very few Indians working in the Federal programs. I am that person and I would like to give you my views and opinions on this.

First of all, I would like to tell you a little bit about Pilot City. Pilot City Regional Center is a multi-purpose center. It deals in service to low-income residents of the North Side of Minneapolis; services such as employment, health, social services to the elderly, insurance, housing, community information, information on referrals, and recently a new addition, services to Indians. It has a 32-member board which is called TACTICS, the Technical Advisory Committee To Implement Community Services. It has a membership of 50% residents and 50% agencies. There is supposed to be an Indian resident board member to that board. There is no Indian resident board member on the board at this time because there is distrust of Pilot Center among the Indian people. Many believe the organization is black-oriented...It is true what Indian people are saying about Pilot City. There needs to be more Indian people working within the program. There has been some involvement in service to Indian people, but there could be a lot more.[116]

There was a subsequent inquiry from Committee member Valandra to a representative of the Director of Pilot Center about the charges of black orientation of the agency. The representative acknowledged that the organization and structuring of Pilot City followed inner-city upheaval which was instigated largely by blacks and thus the agency had acquired a reputation of being associated with black people. However, he quoted statistics indicating that the services provided to poor residents in the Pilot City area were not directed exclusively toward black people and did include Indians.[117]

Some comments were made about other anti-poverty efforts and their orientation to blacks in Minneapolis. An Indian woman who complained that there was no money from Pilot Center for a recreational facility for Indian youth gave this picture:

> DELORES RAISCH: Well, we are starting to get some help from the YMCA. Again, these kids, most of them, are on welfare and cannot afford the bus there. This is quite a ways to walk. We had three basketball teams, and transportation was one of our problems. My husband's car isn't even working now.

He was driving the kids back and forth to the games. They had to cancel a lot of games. The place they were playing must be a mile or two. When it gets twenty below zero, you can't expect the kids to walk. All the other centers, like the Way Community Center, have buses and nice new furniture, but our center has to be satisfied with cast-off things.

MR. NAHWOOKSY: Have you thought about other government funding, OEO?

DELORES RAISCH: This is OEO.

MR. VALANDRA: You were talking about Pilot Center and Pilot City. Is that all the same thing?

DELORES RAISCH: This is the same thing.

MR. VALANDRA: You talked about cast-off furniture and that you get second-hand stuff. You talked about another center, Wayside?

DELORES RAISCH: The Way.

MR. VALANDRA: Is that similar to your situation?

DELORES RAISCH: It's a center for black young people, but I understand they are privately funded.

MR. VALANDRA: The center you were talking about and this other one are entirely different? Their funding is different?

DELORES RAISCH: Yes, but their purpose, I think, is the same.[118]

And another anti-poverty program in Minneapolis was labeled black-oriented:

> The TCOIC, Twin Cities Opportunity Industrial Council, primarily a black organization, has developed something they call a feeder program. This thing has been very interesting to us and we would like to devise something of a similar nature in the Indian community.[119]

The conflict between Indians and blacks in Minneapolis apparently extended to school children, as the following testimony from an Indian mother indicates:

I just wanted to talk on elementary and high school education. I live on the North Side, and I know what I'm going to say isn't good, but I'm going to say it anyhow. I always do. I know in regards to Indians, there is such a movement between the black and white, that the Indians are completely annihilated, and this goes into education, too. I am talking from my own personal involvement with my child in one of the North Side schools. He went to one school on the North Side and he did very well. There he had colored teachers, that made no difference to him. He was transferred into one of the other schools, where there was a large enrollment of colored children. In that school there was so much harrassment and fighting, my child refused to go to school. At that time, he was only eight years old. Now he is nine. He refused to go to school.

Anyhow, I went down to the school. We did everything. They thought he couldn't adjust. Well, who in the world can adjust to curcumstances like that? I can't either.

I couldn't expect an eight year old child to take on an adjustment like that. Anyhow, he finally finished out the school year, but I had to take him to school and pick him up every day. This year he refused to attend. They were transferred to a different school and he absolutely refused. He refused any involvement, where there was any other minority participation, because of the bad experience that he had with them. There is frightful tension, I suppose you would call it, with the teacher. They're afraid to discipline these other minorities. They let them go and do as they wish. The parents should put a little more pressure on the Board of Education so there is more discipline in the schools. By the way, I had to send my child to a parochial school. There he is very happy. He is going with the objective of learning, and is very busy, and doesn't have time for fighting and torturing other kids. He goes and minds his own business. It's costing money, but it costs money to have him in the other school, too -- the doctor bills.

I can imagine if there are these absentees from these other schools, if it came down to facts, this would be the findings. I don't know if everybody else is afraid to tread this path, but I am not. I have lived on the North Side for an awfully long time, and this is where the concentration of the hard core is. I am just as hard as they are. They don't scare me. I raised one family already, and they went through high school, and at that time there was discipline in the schools. They didn't run around like they do now.

> Everybody had their obligation to the teachers and to the rest of the staff involved in schools, but they don't have it now. If we can't have our children going to school to learn just sitting afraid somebody is going to come and clabber them -- I don't know what good the school is doing them.
>
> If they is going to be such a concentration on minorities and their needs, then we should make it know that we have a few needs.[120]

And in Dallas, an Indian lady quoted a friend of hers:

> "There's my children. We can just barely give them lunch money. When they go to school, the Negro children rob our children of their money, and they have to go without their lunch until they come home. When we buy their bus fare, well, they'll take their bus tickets away from them and then we have to take them to school." This family is of very meager means and cannot afford to buy a bus ticket every time they turn around or afford to give them lunch money all the time.[121]

Another Indian mother in Dallas put it this way:

> ...my kids are going to different places for school, and from them I hear a lot of things I get sore about, but then I don't do anything about it because of my poor English and all that. One boy goes to Pinkston and I would like to have a policeman around this area where he goes through to school, coming home. These colored and all that, they would jump them and take their money away or transistor radios or watches. I would tell them not to fight back because these colored are just broad and big, and I wouldn't want mykids to be hurt by them or anything like that. I don't want them to be bothered by them. Every time we try to get them transportation or this ticket, the coloreds would take it away from them, too. That's how come they are scared to go to school. Of course, they wanted to go to school, but that's a problem, it's holding them up. We try our very best for them to go to school and my husband would take them and bring them back home. That way they would be in a safe position.[122]

In Phoenix a Navaho man, interested in recreation for Indian children, related this:

I want to tell you about what happened to us last summer when we had the little boys' team. We were in a league down south of town. Talking about urban problems, this is a problem that touched every Indian here in town because it had to do with recreation facilities. This same problem touches Indians everywhere, in all walks of life. We don't have any place for recreation. That goes for gymnasiums, baseball fields. This is the only park that I have anything to do with.

Now, going back to these little boys. Last summer we had boys 10, 11 years old in the Little League. We were doing real well. In fact, we had lost only one game all summer. We were going into the last week of play, and we were tied for first place in the league. Two times, up to that point, we had got ourselves in a squabble with that race down there -- what do you call it -- the other kind of people. They don't seem to want us to win all the time, the way I figure. So they picked fights with our little boys after the games. We ignored it, and I convinced our people to stay in there after the first two times. But it happened a third time. The other Little League pitcher beat up our winning pitcher, eleven years old, so that he required medical attention. We had to take him to the hospital. I had convinced the people to keep our boys in the League, but after that, we pulled our team out. We could have won, but we couldn't stand the fighting any more, I guess.

All these -- I don't know -- I am trying to find the words to express these things -- why these things happen to little boys. We tell them we are going to have a game so they come to the park to play, so then these things happen. They pick on our little boys. They take them out to the dark places of the park, and they fight and beat them up.

Now, how do you explain these things to ten year old boys? If you go deeper into the subject, how do you explain the kind of grown-ups that instigate these things?[123]

And another Indian man in Phoenix, a Mohave, agreed:

I think this brings up the point that the Indians need not only an Indian center, but a place where we can go and set up an organized recreation for our young kids. This is my experience; and I speak only about the things that have confronted me in this area. Our young kids live in areas where the recreation available is very poor. I think we have East Lake Park and Harmon Park. These are areas where the Negro, the Indian, and the Mexican come for their recreation. The domineering attitude of the Negro usually discourages the Indians, the smaller kids, and even the adults from participating in recreation.[124]

In Minneapolis and San Francisco black people spoke to the Committee urging an acceptance of the similarities between black and Indian people and greater unity in the solution of common problems.[125] Chairman Harris observed:

> I think it's very important to keep in mind, there are so many basic problems that are so similar, that we share as minority people. The similarities overwhelm the differences, and we should work together in any way that we can, and try to be as positive as we can.
>
> There was something said today about history. What we are taught in school makes, or helps to make us, what we are. There must be some way in the whole school system, in colleges and universities, where we are taught to accept differences. I am concerned about what happens to the United States, in its approaches to the world, if we can't accept each others differences, and have appreciation for one another in our particular culture her at home.
>
> Even as Indian people, we find we have difficulties with each other as tribes, because we have different tribal customs and cultures. I think unless we can overcome those barriers we are not going to make a bigger contribution to the world.[126]

And an unidentified member of the audience in San Francisco saw the need for minority unity in practical terms:

> I would like to suggest something that may have already been brought up here at these meetings, but there is something that should be said, and I may get shot down for this one, but the thing is that the Indian people are a minority people, and the move that they expect to make in the future, for their own benefit, they need to have funds.
>
> This is why I have a strong or a deep feeling about our indulging in the luxury of picking other races apart, because here is where we get help and we need it. It doesn't seem that they have to have anything to do with us; we're trying to work out our own problems, and we're going to because the times and the people are beginning to converge now, so that there can be effective leadership here in the future, and a program to benefit the Indian.
>
> But this is the thing, I think, as Indian people, we ought to pay particular attention to, and that is the fact that we don't go alienating unncessarily people of any other race. And if we care enough about that, we won't do that within our own groups.[127]

Some Final Observations

These excerpts from the NCIO urban hearings had to do with interracial problems, perceptions and accommodations. Several observations may be drawn from this material:

1. In some cities there were indications that residential dispersion of the Indian population, when combined with the presence of other relatively numerous and aggressive minority groups, resulted in feelings of powerlessness and ineffectiveness on the part of some urban Indians. This was particularly true in the case of Indian participation in anti-poverty programs intended to serve poor persons, regardless of their ethnicity. Some spokesmen urged more and better Indian representation on multi-ethnic boards and programs, but others appeared to prefer separate Indian programs as an appropriate strategy. The pressures of competition from other ethnic groups, perhaps more skilled in program operation because of longer urban experience, were apparent. Also apparent was the Indian perception of being edged out of an adequate economic base for urban Indian programs. Subsequent funding of urban Indian programs by a number of Federal agencies, including the BIA, may be a response to these pleas.

2. There appears to be a strong tendency for many urban Indians to approach Indian-white relationships from the posture of historic injustice, and even with the expectation that "history will repeat itself." In some ways this may be the Indian counterpart of the negative image imposed upon Indians by whites. Probably, it underlies a large portion of the drive for separate Indian programs, and it may be based upon the limited spectrum of the usual Indian-white contact with whites in reservation and border-town settings. Apparently, many Indian adults have moved into economically disadvantaged areas of cities where opportunities to encounter cultural and social diversity are restricted, and this may serve to perpetuate traditional Indian-white relationships. Certainly, the forces of a historic, rather than contemporary or future, viewpoint added to the restrictions imposed upon choice by economic circumstances, may be expected to strengthen the

common Indian feelings of subjugation and inferiority. The complex of economic, social, and cultural forces operating to prevent inter-cultural change and accommodation between Indians and whites is tightly-woven. Indian fatalism and negativism resulting from inter-cultural intransigence may thus displace positive goal orientation in some urban settings.

3. The frequently-expressed desire of many urban Indians to communicate and relate with other Indians has positive and negative implications. It provides much of the motivation for the establishment or re-establishment of an Indian community and Indian-oriented programs in the urban setting. It also may serve to inhibit the kind of contact with non-Indians which is essential to the maintenance of city life, including economic sustenance and betterment and the utilization of various social services.

4. Some Indian spokesmen were convinced that the burden of change rested with whites. This position was based upon historic injustice, perceptions of Indian powerlessness to change important aspects of urban society, and the prevalence of white racism and paternalism. While it is not difficult to agree with much of this conviction, it is likely that such a stance -- if repeated among Indians to the point where it becomes an article of faith -- can function to reduce or eliminate any substantial change on the part of urban Indians, even when that change may be to the obvious advantage of Indians. It may also serve to unnecessarily reinforce feelings of impotence among urban Indians.

5. Interpersonal relations between individual Indians and whites were revealed which were viewed by the Indians as both beneficial and distasteful. There were indications that some whites were quite helpful, and that others wished to be.

6. Some Indian witnesses were convinced that employment discrimination was common in the cities, and that employers had not accommodated the Indian population sufficiently by making such adjustments as lowering hiring standards. Both employers and Indians who appeared before the Committee

agreed that Indian drinking problems (or the expectation of Indian drinking problems) were impediments to the employment of urban Indians. On the other hand, some Indians and some non-Indian employers reported satisfaction and success with employment and with co-workers, while other Indians indicated a kind of ambivalence about entering the economic system.

7. Law enforcement in the city was reported to be a matter involving both discrimination and cultural conflict. Some observed that differential law enforcement worked to the disadvantage of Indians, and others stressed the inadequacy of legal assistance and advice. The absence of Indian lawyers was a distinct disadvantage.

8. Indian perceptions of the responsiveness of social service agencies and other segments of the urban community were quite varied. Committee members felt that poor attendance at the hearings by representatives of the non-Indian communities in Dallas and Los Angeles was indicative of insufficient support for Indian efforts. While there was scant institutional representation at some of the hearings, sometimes there were indications that accommodations between Indians and institutions had been worked out at the operational level. Social welfare and Alcoholics Anonymous efforts were criticized as being emasculating and inappropriate, respectively, for Indians. The need for long-term agency effort was pointed out, and some who appeared before the Committee spoke in terms of general institutional racism. Some Indians complained of being studied, yet not receiving redress. Indian control of research about Indians was advocated, and it was apparent that the economics of current research efforts was an underlying issue.

9. Tension and conflict between Indians and blacks was evident in several cities. Black domination of anti-poverty programs was cited as unacceptable as was the general aggressiveness of urban blacks. Harrassment and fighting instigated by black school children was resented by Indian parents, some of whom wanted more "discipline" at school. In general, there was not much suggestion by Indian witnesses of alliance with blacks to confront common difficulties.

FOOTNOTES*

[1]San Francisco, p. 70, Mary Lee Justice.

[2]Dallas, p. 180, Joe Carmouche.

[3]Dallas, p. 195, Mrs. Glen Beezley.

[4]Minneapolis, p. 196, Diana Rojas.

[5]Los Angeles, p. 82, La Donna Harris.

[6]Los Angeles, p. 170, Bert Walters.

[7]Los Angeles, p. 217, Background Material for the Proposed Program for the University of California in Indian Education.

[8]San Francisco, p. 154, Richard McKenzie.

[9]San Francisco, p. 35, John Denton.

[10]San Francisco, p. 89, Adam Nordwall.

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*The basic documents for this report are:

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Los Angeles, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," December 16-17, 1968. Mimeograph. 311 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Dallas, Texas of the N-ational Council on Indian Opportunity," February 13-14, 1969. Mimeograph. 213 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, March 18-19, 1969. Mimeograph. 209 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in San Francisco, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, April 11-12, 1969. Mimeograph. 249 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Phoenix, Arizona of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, April 17-18, 1969. Mimeograph. 145 pp.

(All documents published by U.S. Government Printing Office.)

In the above footnoting, these volume references are abbreviated.

[11]Los Angeles, p. 208, Sunne Wright.

[12]Minneapolis, p. 173, Clyde Bellecourt.

[13]Los Angeles, p. 100, Henry Roberts.

[14]Los Angeles, p. 59, Noel Campbell.

[15]Minneapolis, p. 154, Ted Mahto.

[16]San Francisco, pp. 15-16, Anthony Matcha.

[17]Dallas, p. 52, Levi Edwards.

[18]Dallas, p. 53, Levi Edwards.

[19]Los Angeles, p. 207, Sunne Wright.

[20]San Francisco, p. 15, Anthony Matcha.

[21]Dallas, p. 49, Herbert Brown Otter.

[22]Dallas, p. 55, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[23]Dallas, p. 96, Joe Tafoya.

[24]Phoenix, p. 28, Eva Metikos.

[25]Phoenix, p. 91, Jerry Sloan.

[26]Minneapolis, p. 196, Diana Rojas.

[27]Phoenix, p. 19, Diane Porter.

[28]Phoenix, p. 38, Mrs. Rose King.

[29]Dallas, p. 206, Murray Rhodes.

[30]Phoenix, p. 81, Hollis Chough.

[31]Dallas, p. 40, Juanita Ahtone.

[32]San Francisco, p. 46, John Denton.

[33]Phoenix, p. 72, Mrs. Juana Lyon.

[34]Phoenix, p. 76, Roy Track.

[35]Los Angeles, p. 164, Roger Jourdain.

[36]San Francisco, p. 190, Eric L. Byrd.

[37]San Francisco, p. 40, La Donna Harris.

[38]Minneapolis, p. 175, George Mitchell.

[39]Dallas, p. 58, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[40]Dallas, p. 59, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[41]Dallas, p. 206, Murray Rhodes.

[42]San Francisco, p. 3, Reverend Tony Calaman.

[43]San Francisco, p. 138, Reverend Tony Calaman.

[44]Minneapolis, pp. 159-160, La Donna Harris.

[45]San Francisco, p. 41, La Donna Harris.

[46]Los Angeles, p. 306, Background material entitled, "American Indians in Los Angeles County," by Clare McWilliams.

[47]San Francisco, p. 127, Mrs. Jeanette Costo.

[48]Minneapolis, p. 106, Charles Deegan.

[49]Minneapolis, p. 107, p. 109, Reverend Raymond Baines.

[50]Dallas, p. 131, Vernon Tehuano.

[51]Phoenix, pp. 48-50, Jess Sixkiller, Jerry Hargis.

[52]Dallas, p. 43, Mrs. Raven Hail.

[53]Dallas, p. 47, Virginia Edwards.

[54]Phoenix, p. 55, Mrs. Hazel Harold.

[55]Minneapolis, p. 185, E.M. Holstein.

[56]San Francisco, p. 63, Jerome Klein.

[57]Dallas, p. 174, Mike Mabria.

[58]Dallas, p. 130, La Donna Harris.

[59]Phoenix, p. 43, Lee Cook.

[60]Phoenix, p. 51, Jess Sixkiller.

[61]Dallas, p. 75, La Donna Harris, Bernice Johnson.

[62]Phoenix, p. 93, Lee Cook.

[63]Dallas, p. 57, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[64]San Francisco, p. 69, Mary Lee Justice.

[65]Dallas, p. 79, Bill Church.

[66]Dallas, p. 158, Reverend Bertram Bobb.

[67]Dallas, p. 78, Bill Church.

[68]Dallas, p. 79, Henry Johnson.

[69]Dallas, p. 79, Bill Church.

[70]Dallas, p. 79, Henry Johnson.

[71]Phoenix, p. 133, Mrs. Virginia Rhodes.

[72]Dallas, p. 84, Bill Church.

[73]Dallas, pp. 158-159, Reverend Bertram Bobb.

[74]Los Angeles, p. 86, Steven S. Jones, Jr.

[75]Phoenix, pp. 34-35, Mr. Milton Bluehouse.

[76]Los Angeles, pp. 113, 114, 117, & 118, Fred Gabourie.

[77]Los Angeles, p. 118, La Donna Harris.

[78]Los Angeles, p. 118, Fred Gabourie.

[79]San Francisco, pp. 55, 56, 57, 61, & 62, E.E. Papke.

[80]Dallas, p. 58, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[81]Dallas, p. 59, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[82]Dallas, p. 75, Bernice Johnson.

[83]Dallas, p. 83, Bill Church.

[84]San Francisco, pp. 110-111, E.E. Papke.

[85]San Francisco, p. 112, Reverend Tony Calaman.

[86]San Francisco, p. 112, Jeannette Costo.

[87]San Francisco, p. 113, E.E. Papke.

[88]San Francisco, pp. 115-116, Mrs. Stella Leach.

[89]San Francisco, pp. 159-161, Lee Sclar.

[90]Los Angeles, p. 120, Fred Gabourie.

[91]Los Angeles, p. 157, Reverend Stoneking.

[92]Los Angeles, p. 281, William Carmack.

[93]Phoenix, p. 79, Hollis Chough.

[94]Phoenix, p. 88, Eva Metikos.

[95]Dallas, p. 87, Reverend Neal.

[96]Dallas, p. 99, David Benham.

[97]Phoenix, pp. 54-55, Mrs. Hazel Harold.

[98]San Francisco, pp. 81-82, La Donna Harris.

[99]San Francisco, pp. 124-125, Harold Red Bird, Ben Walking Stick.

[100]San Francisco, pp. 128-129, Jerome Klein, Tony Calaman.

[101]Dallas, pp. 170-172, La Donna Harris.

[102]Minneapolis, pp. 158-159, Ada Deer.

[103]Phoenix, p. 56, Milton Bluehouse.

[104]San Francisco, pp. 32-33, John Denton.

[105]San Francisco, p. 171, Frank Archambault.

[106]San Francisco, pp. 136-138, Lehman Brightman, La Donna Harris.

[107]Phoenix, p. 127, Mrs. Frances Valenzuela.

[108]San Francisco, pp. 87-88, Adam Nordwall.

[109]San Francisco, p. 221, David Risling.

[110]San Francisco, p. 29, Horace Spencer.

[111]San Francisco, p. 38, Denis Turner.

[112]Minneapolis, p. 123, Delores Raisch.

[113]Los Angeles, p. 179, Bert Walters.

[114]Minneapolis, p. 90, Charles Deegan.

[115]Minneapolis, p. 30, Pearl Bisson.

[116]Minneapolis, p. 195, Diana Rojas.

[117]Minneapolis, pp. 201-202, Cato Valandra, James Dair.

[118]Minneapolis, pp. 126-127, Delores Raisch, Cato Valandra, Reeves Nahwooksy.

[119]Minneapolis, p. 181, Emily Peake.

[120]Minneapolis, pp. 27-28, Pearl Bisson.

[121]Dallas, p. 46, Virginia Edwards.

[122]Dallas, p. 198, Delores Seckletstewa.

[123]Phoenix, p. 65, Julian Dinehdeol.

[124]Phoenix, pp. 73-74, Peter Homer.

[125]Minneapolis, pp. 31-32, Curt Ewing; San Francisco, pp. 183-191, Eric L. Byrd.

[126]Minneapolis, p. 32, La Donna Harris.

[127]San Francisco, p. 244, Unidentified member of the audience.